1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

by the individual and his immediate family. A father-in-law and son-in-law may assist each other if poor health strikes, but such assistance is limited to gifts of food or casual labor (cutting a little wood, making an occasional trip to the trap line) and never extends to gifts of money. Problems arising from sickness are shouldered as inevitable, but promote considerable self-pity and despair. A sick person is neither neglected by his spouse or parents nor exceptionally well treated. Illness is generally not catered to, and a sick adult or older child, unless he actively resists, is rarely excused from work. There are, therefore, few satisfactions to be derived from illness, although men often use their symptoms as justifications for inactivity or procrastination. In general people do not remain in bed until they are seriously sick. A patient may sit a great deal or, if an old woman, crouch on the ground, but is slow to lie down. 734

As far as treatment is concerned, any man or woman may assume the role of therapist, a role conferring little status or prestige. Generally a parent ministers to a child, a husband and wife to each other. There is still a residual belief that certain individuals, particularly older men like River Joe, possess supernaturally derived curative power. This belief, however, serves no important function and such reputed shamans are no longer requested to practice. An incident reported by Old Man illustrates contemporary attitudes. Five or six years ago Willy Wiley accidentally shot himself through the hand. The boy's father, Old Wiley, refused to consider Old Man's resolution to send the boy outside for medical treatment. "Fortune gonna heal it," Old Wiley said, referring to the concept of supernatural power. Old Man replied: "Fortune not gonna help." The latter's opinion prevailed, and Willy was flown to Fort St. John, where the injury was successfully treated. In native therapy, medicine is rarely forced upon an unwilling patient and even adolescents are usually permitted to control their own treatment. Thus Old Man reported that his daughter, Louise, had been prescribed "T. B. medicine" by the Canadian Air Force physician at Watson Lake Airport. The medicine was given to Old Man with instructions that the girl take it daily. "Doctor tell me, 'Make her take it'." Nevertheless Old Man left it up to Louise to treat herself. "I don't think she take it yet," he remarked several months later.[96] 757 [759] [756]

The most important therapy comes from outside the Indian community. Since their stay in the area, the Roman Catholic missionaries have dispensed a limited amount of simple medication, and white trappers also from time to time provide first aid and simple remedies for Indians encountered in the bush. During 1944 and the greater part of 1945, highly qualified medical therapy together with limited hospital facilities were available from Canadian and United States Army physicians, dentists, and nurses who were stationed at Watson Lake Airport to serve the air forces. The facilities for such care were readily used by the Indians until they were withdrawn in the fall of 1945. Several times Canadian and United States doctors made unofficial visits to Lower Post, where they advised patients who sought them out. In January 1945, an United States Army physician parachuted from a plane near Smith River, to help curb a dysentery outbreak that has already claimed the lives of several children. When his work was done, Indians guided him out of the bush to the Alaska Highway. 757 [758] 757

[96] Information received during the winter of 1948-49 revealed Louise to be a patient in a hospital far south of the Kaska area.

787 If the string is bent around the stick twice (C), two lynx are indicated. Sometimes the line is found bent across the stick once and in addition a strand of line is found crossed under itself (D). This indicates that the man's traps contain one lynx plus one other species of fur. The trapper consulting the oracle may use it to determine the presence of whatever fur he specifies. He may also perform the oracle to learn another person's luck, and Old Man did this for his son-in-law, Hare, who was already away on his trap line. In Old Man's case the oracle promised him one lynx and some other species of fur; unfortunately when he left several days later he found his traps completely bare of fur. In Hare's case, however, the promised two lynx were duly found in the young man's traps.

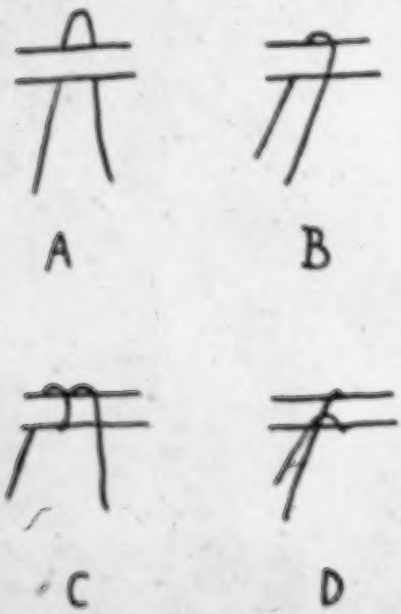

FIG. 1.—SYMBOLS FOR FOUR ANSWERS

787 Depending on conscious or unconscious sleight of hand in unwinding the line—that is, one strand of line is one or more times flipped across the stick independently of its companion—this oracle was used in the aboriginal society by individuals who, by virtue of being befriended by a supernatural animal power, enjoyed the status of shamans. Such persons knew a variety of spectacular conjurations and often displayed their skills in competitive contests. For examples, see Osgood, C., 'The Ethnography of the Tanaina,' Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 16, New Haven, 1937, pp. 180-181.

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787 Other forms of divination and revelation in use among the Kaska are not many. They include, however, consulting tea leaves to learn a hunter's prospects, as well as prophecy through the interpretation of dreams and by trances. Aboriginally scapulomancy was a common feature of this as well as other Northern Athapaskan peoples. People also have their decisions confirmed by fire. That is, a man who is undecided about a course of action may hear a snap or crack-like crackling. 'When you think of something and fire crack,' our informant explained, 'that's ghost telling you "yes" or "no." He knows your mind. If you want to hunt, he tell you "hiing, hiing—hurry up." Sometimes he says "yes" or "no." You just guess it, that's all.

—JOHN J. HONIGMANN
IRMA HONIGMANN

Pelican, Wash., U.S.A.

[p.140 (b)]

[Errata: should be spelled Honigmann.-A]

After obtaining manitous they solicited them specially. Some lads developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became nearly as knowing as some shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. Some lads who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamans)m. However most lads desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lads dug up different kinds

m Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

776 of roots and tested them as charms. Those they had no
CH luck with they discarded, whilst perhaps one or two
787 they adopted as charms because they found, whenever
CH they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm
good for one individual might be no good for another
and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good
CH warriors proved to be weak and practised white surface.
775 They also looked for charms or something which would
lend them power and help them to win. At last they
would light on something which would be of value.
Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and there-
fore a number of men then going to battle wore eagle
CH feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing
766 of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for
to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and
generally this could only be obtained accepting by long
and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning
CH to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a
775 familiar, the lad later buried the animal or bird repre-
787 sentation of his familiar. Having killed one he kept
the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near
him or in his possession there was created a greater
bond between the man and his familiar and the latter
exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former.
CH By shooting, running, jumping and other similar cere-
monies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

[illegible]

[illegible] which they secured with small bows and arrows in the tall grass, sometimes far-flended [illegible]. They also enjoyed a reputation for their fire making. Information about Fire Man (Kwadiskiss or Kwo) came to the Gadai from the Tsiku Indians, who called him Tsiskiff's, the evil beings, he spoke to the fire's crackling and so kills the people from down small bits of sticks. The dwell was cold and controlled other evil beings like Tsaqwa. Long ago Thunder, a cannibal, provided the world for consuming victims whom he clubbed to death and then prepared the game for eating. The cracks of his being struck great terror when encountered but he perished long ago in the flood. Water beings were unknown. Thunder originated from a great "fly" (bird? insect?) with a large mouth.*

[illegible] Fairness. The idea of a Supreme Being alienated to aboriginal times. Something called a devil (Lilag) existed and the aboriginal belief system has details could not be recalled.

[illegible]

Upper Liard Kaska. An informant told us that a shaman was always a far person because he constantly dreamed that he was acting. Such a characterization may be derived from one of the [illegible] shamans about whom the informant had knowledge. Every young man received the opportunity to acquire power that would enhance his personal capabilities. Since every man was a potential shaman (hence or medicine, the latter word appears to designate the curing course of the person). Women too could be visited by extraordinary dreams through which they, like men, acquired characteristic power. By working harder at shamanism some men and a few women acquired a wide reputation as curers, prophets, and sorcerers.

The power to perform shamanistic functions came from "dreaming of animals in a lonely place" (1). A young person would spend time in the bush. In night he might hear one singing like a human being or he might hear a woman or hear singing. "You go to bush. Pretty soon get dark. You hear somebody sing. Eye and ear get light. Animal gets and just another there when you wake up. Eye and ear get dark and that man come back" (2). When a boy reached about 12 or 13 years in age his father directed him to sleep in the bush. Before leaving home the youth would sometimes seek his mother's breast "just like a little baby." Generally the aspirant was sent about two miles from the parental camp, stopping at a place where he felt perceptive feeling. Arriving at such a site the boy painted his face with a pigment made from various roots. Always he remained alone, accompanying his wife or two hours of hesitation with sparse eating and little sleeping.* It was forbidden to take a bow and arrows along on a vision quest. Every night

* Chemin bark have been reported for the Tahltan, Sekani, Kaska, Tsetsaut, Haida (Swanton, Boas) and Chipewyan (Honigmann) of the Plateau Indians (1946, 50). Jones, Study of the Tlingit of Jilkine (1914, 38).

* Among the Tlingit Indian shamans "spent long periods in the bush in shallow solitude, supposedly in communication with evil spirits. They also had periods of fasting and bath that differed in many respects from that of others." Jones, Study of the Tlingit of Jilkine (1914, 46-48). Swanton in some myths in listing the following items for the Tlingit power quest: dreams, power from animal spirits, fasting and "medicine" with preparations to confuse other people, fasting and continuous solitude fasting the quest, fasting and fasting after the ceremonies or will are from the period of dreams

Upper Uerdi

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

R: Manuscripts B-8 (1943-1961)1954 ND12 Nakane ND12
Upper Liard, Dease River
Tsetsaut

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would use it" and sought it hard. Then a prisoner caused a decorated bent-long staff to disappear. Two shamans might compete in subtle conjuring, the object of each being to prove himself the more powerful. The loser in such a contest might die.*

Dease River Kaska. Both men and women became shamans among the people in the Dease River valley. A girl sometimes acquired her power (*ustsai*, "strength") while undergoing menstrual seclusion. Generally however when a boy reached 16 he was directed to go a short distance into the bushes down. Here he remained for about a month, living in an open camp made by driving a perch of willows. Occasionally more adequate shelters housed his vision searches. He youth painted his face in either red or black. While a woman was forbidden to visit he aspirant, the latter was freely visited by his father who brought food. Generally however, a youth seeking a dream continued with food and fresh water sparingly. According to one informant a boy used the drinking only during his seclusion but not the smoking stick, which was associated with a girl's puberty experiences.* Sometimes two or four boys passed their vision quest together. Power came from dreaming of a "strong" animal, mythological being, sun, or moon. Girls often dreamed about moon. Formulas were never revealed. Boys whose experiences seemed particularly effective—for example, if they received communications from animals like the bear or mountain goat—might become successful curers. On formal instruction to dreamers following dream quest—"a man taught him said: "Whatever every man enjoyed most over, each microcosmic group customarily recognized one individual who could use by virtue of such ability. Indirect revelation of a power source occurred when a dreamer wore his hair the feathers of a bird person or, if his helper was a bear, carried a bear-skin headband or necklace of that animal's claws. Indirect training to be cured either used the practitioner or commissioned him. Curers customarily performed with rattles. Powers consisted of skins, snowshoes, or articles of wearing apparel. Sometimes a successful man received his partner's daughter as a wife, but only with the girl's explicit consent. Age enhanced a man's supernatural powers while longevity in men proved that a man enjoyed particularly strong helpers. Such men acquired subsequent reputations. Fasting, mostly by singly-of-hand, constituted a first part of the dreamer complex of secret to spread a man's ability for which dreamers also engaged in competitive ceremonies.

[881]

Curers. Informants clearly distinguished the curer of shamanistic ability. "All kinds of germs, like bulls," he said. "Drunk, thirsty, fire-sickness, crazy, sleepy, poor, starving—all make people thirsty. When they want to bite, cry each everything. Somebody get sick, make all right the people. The curer can tell somebody doctor. Water he talk, he

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*Bridgeport in the northern Kingsgate area. This conjuring is also related for the Tlingit. "... shamans of both sorts were in the habit of lying up to fight each other by means of their spirits. Sometimes they endeavored to do other mischiefs to show their power." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians* (1908, xiii.) Fragile-of-hand among the Tlingit is mentioned by Swanton. (Frederica [illegible] *Shamanism Distributions*. 2.111, Portland Lost [illegible]) Mr. Tom in upper Liard River informant Chief that Dease River shamans made objects disappear and also could converges a sick "[illegible] away."

*In this connection we note the statement of Mrs. Jackson in reference to puberty dress for girls, p. 10 [illegible]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tsetena
upper Liard

756 *bone. Poplar, willow, any kind with* [i.e., tree] *make doctor.*" Thunder, too, could confer power and give a man the ability to control weather. A man's power helped him to attain old age but when he died his acquired ability "died" with him.

756 787 The vision quest among the Tsetena involved the aspirant's seclusion in the forest, where he saw animals or other spectators who sang to him. As a rule only a boy undertook something for a vision but occasionally a girl also slept in the bush and secured shamanistic power. Only when engaged in curing did the shaman wear a distinctive garb, for example carrying a fur scarf around his neck. The skin represented his power source. Neither drum nor rattle played a part in curing. According to our informant only *Cree* shamans dreamed. Conjuring could not be recalled but the informant had heard of a similar practice among other Indian groups.

MAGIC

789 The term magic is used in this section to include not only behavior but also a manner of thinking or state of mind. The major characteristic of magic is that it holds material things or behavioral events "to be the unfailing residence of certain intrinsic qualities."[28] Magic as a term thus includes ideas as well as manifest evidences and other rites, like amulet wearing, removing illness by sucking, and various forms of divination. Not all of the magical observances in Kaska culture have been incorporated in this section. A number have been introduced previously (for example in connection with warfare) while others will be included with the life cycle.

789 789 826 *Upper Liard Kaska.* In pre-contact times the Indians of the Cassiar recognized several species of animals as magically dangerous. Holding first place in this category we find the otter, a creature that in this region occupies the focal point of ideology which among other Blackwater drainage people is reserved for the wolf.[29] Like the mink, the otter could drive persons insane, subject them to fainting, vomiting, and produce more serious illness such as "retching up." Both animals were avoided as food. A mink inadvertently caught in a deadfall had to *carcass* thrown into the fire and covered with feathers. This "put them [i.e., mink] to good mind." To take a live mink from a trap was particularly dangerous. An otter taken in a beaver deadfall was returned to the stream or lake with instructions to one's children not to drink water near the place. Dreaming of the otter made people fearful and such dreams were regarded as originating with the animal itself. Otters possessed power to transform themselves into human beings.[30] Attitudes of profound respect and avoidance were not lacking for the wolf. A hunter who wounded this animal always let it go free with the expectation that the creature would again present itself to the hunter. Should it then be killed, a depletion of game would follow within two or three years.[31] Thus the cycle fluctuation of game animals appears

[28] Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 91.

[29] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 78.

[30] "... the lynx otter was dreaded more than any other creature. This was on account of his supposed supernatural powers, fearfulness for creating people crazy, depriving them of their senses, and turning them into otter men. ... Truth was the Tlingit would not see them for long." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 450.

[31] "... the wolf was also supposed to possess great power." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 450.